

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Survey Expedition is once more in the field. Lieut. Kitchener's letters, dated the 29th of January, the 6th, 14th, and the 20th of February, announce in succession a delay of eight days at Port Saïd, his arrival at Beyrout and at Damascus, and his departure for Haifa. He received the greatest assistance at Beyrout from Consul-General Eldridge. The new Wali of Syria arrived while he was at Beyrout, and he had an opportunity of showing him a portion of the map-work. Horses, which are very dear, in consequence of an epidemic in Egypt and extensive purchases by the Government, were bought at Damascus. Here, too, Lieut. Kitchener saw Abd el Kader, who expressed his deep regret that the Safed outrage had been perpetrated by his followers, and gave him letters which should secure the party from a repetition of the attack. The country is reported quite quiet, and apparently safe for surveying purposes. The noncommissioned officers were to have landed at Haifa, but were carried on to Beyrout in consequence of bad weather. The heavy luggage was sent back to Haifa by sea under charge of Corporal Brophy; and Lieut. Kitchener, with Sergeant Malings and Corporal Sunderland, rode down the coast from Beyrout. Work was started on the 27th. The work already completed consists in the filling-in of the detail of the Akka plain, and running the line of levels from Mejdel to the Mediterranean.

Lieutenant Conder, as his papers in this number of the *Quarterly Statement* prove, is occupied entirely in the preparation of his notes for the Memoir to accompany the Map. All the sheets drawn during the last year are consigned to the charge of the Union Bank of London for greater safety. When Lieut. Kitchener has been able to clear up certain points of difficulty which require investigation on the ground, there will be nothing to prevent the publication of these sheets.

The programme for 1877, announced in January, has thus been fairly commenced. The cost of the whole is, as then stated, upwards of £300 a month. The supporters of the undertaking will remember that the Committee are always in want of money, and that the earlier subscriptions are paid, the better it is for the Society.

We publish a paper by M. Clermont-Ganneau on the "Tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus" in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The discovery there announced and described is of great importance from an archaeological point of view. If his conclusion be correct, then the Church of the Holy Sepulchre would seem to be built over—not one tomb only, but a collection of undoubted Jewish tombs.

Local Societies have been formed since last January in Norwich, where the Dean has consented to join the General Committee; in Derby; and at Melbourne. The particulars of the formation of the latter are given in a letter below.

Captain Anderson gives an account of Jacob's Well and its surroundings as he saw it on his visit ten years ago. We are able to promise for the next number a drawing from a sketch made on the spot two years ago, by Mr. H. W. Harper. Meantime Lieut. Kitchener will report to the Committee, as soon as he has time to visit the place, what can be done there. Until this report is received, no further action will be taken in the matter.

An offer has been made by Mr. F. Locock of £50 towards a special fund for the examination and preservation of Rachel's Tomb. The Committee have ordered this offer to be recorded. As in the case of Jacob's Well, no action can be taken until a report has been received from Lieut. Kitchener.

A letter has been received from the Rev. Selah Merrill, of the American Palestine Association. He has presented the Committee with a sketch of his route map east of Jordan. He was to start for Moab on the 6th of March, with the design of visiting Kerak, the south end of the Dead Sea, Bezer, Ramoth-Gilead, Penuel, and many other places.

The following is the financial position of the Fund (March 29th). Receipts from Jan. 1 to March 29th, £1,201 15s. 3d. Expenditure for the same period: Exploration, £856 1s. 1d.; office and management, £206 16s. 6d.; unpaid bills, £100. The balance in the banks on the 29th was £362 19s. 3d. This is only equal to the expenditure for the month of April. The sum of £2,000 is asked for between April 1st and Sept. 30th. This will be very easily raised if subscribers will be good enough to forward their subscriptions for the year at once instead of waiting till the end of the year. The balance-sheet and Treasurer's statement will be found in their usual places.

Several cases were discovered in 1876 of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready, and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey.

The following are at present Diocesan Representatives of the Society :—

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester : Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farnish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon : Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

IRELAND.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W. The full report of meetings held by Mrs. Finn during the last quarter will be found in the business sheet.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of eighteen pence.

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs is now ready, and can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.

FORMATION OF A NEW LOCAL ASSOCIATION AT MELBOURNE.

The following Report, dated Dec. 21st, 1876, has been received from Mr. H. W. Fry, authorised to act on behalf of the Society during his visit to Australia and New Zealand :—

"I have much pleasure in now sending a *résumé* of the work I have done in this town. When I arrived I presented your letter to Mr. W., but found that the interest he takes in the subject is only very general, and he has not the time to

assist us. I therefore wrote to the leading paper here on the subject, but before I got an answer I was introduced to the Rev. W. Poole, of Dorcas Street, Emerald Hill, Melbourne; and I determined to accept his offer to undertake the post of secretary. He knows almost every one, is very energetic, and takes great interest in the work. He promised to get up a committee, but after I left him I thought there would be nothing like doing what could be done at once, so I arranged to hold a meeting at the earliest date convenient, and did all I could to get a fair attendance. The meeting was held on Wednesday afternoon, an account of which you will find in the papers which I send you. It was there resolved to appoint a provisional committee, and Mr. Poole secretary *pro tem.*, and to hold another public meeting this afternoon, which was advertised and done. The committee were then made permanent, and one or two names added, and they all pledged themselves to support the Society. The committee consist of the following gentlemen: the Very Rev. Dean Macartney; Revs. S. L. Chase, A. Gosman, A. Davidson, C. M. Yelland, W. Wood, G. P. Lush, and Mr. E. M. Gibbs; also the treasurer, Dr. Iffla. There already exists a good deal of interest in the matter amongst the general public. Mr. Poole would like two calico maps similar to those I have, and he and the other clergy on the committee will give lectures on the subject. I asked the Governor, Sir Geo. Bowen, to let his name appear as patron, and I think he will do so. I am not able to write more fully now as I am just leaving for Tasmania. I think we may congratulate ourselves on having started very well here, and I quite believe it will prove a very valuable branch.

"H. W. FRY."

LIEUTENANT KITCHENER'S REPORTS.

I.

PALESTINE SURVEY CAMP, HAIFFA,
6th March, 1877.

AFTER seven days' delay at Port Said, owing to the non-arrival of the Russian steamer, I reached Beyrout on the 6th February, and found that the newly-appointed Governor-General of Syria, Zia Pacha, had not arrived. He was, however, daily expected, and on the 8th February he landed. On the 9th I went with Mr. Eldridge, who was making his official visit, and saw him. The Wali appeared to take considerable interest in our work, and wished me every success. I was informed that he probably would not be able to give me the letters I required until he reached the seat of his government at Damascus. On the 11th, therefore, I went to Damascus to await him there, as also to collect our scattered servants and to buy horses. Mr. Jago, the English Consul at Damascus, kindly asked me to stay with him.

After calling upon the acting Governor-General, I saw the Emir Abd el Kader, who received me very well, and expressed great regret for the conduct of his people in the late affair at Safed. On his returning my visit he gave me letters to his chiefs at Tiberias and Safed, which I hope will prove of great use to me.

While at Damascus I heard of the arrival of my noncommissioned officers at Beyrout, having been driven past Haiffa by stress of weather, and as the Wali did not seem likely to attempt the crossing of the mountains, I went back to Beyrout, hoping to get my letters there. After three days, by the kind efforts of our Consul-General, Mr. Eldridge,

I received the required letters, and as my party was now complete, men and animals, I started the same day for Haiffa, where I arrived with my noncommissioned officers on Saturday, the 24th.

Some time was lost in getting our things out of store, in repairing damages, and in cleaning instruments. On Wednesday, the 28th, I am glad to report that work was fairly started. The day before I saw the Pacha of Acca, who received me very well and gave me a letter to all his kaimacams; also, after a short correspondence, I have received from him a special letter for the kaimacam of Safed and two zabtiehs to be permanently attached to the expedition. The country seems to be very quiet and orderly, the Government having determined to put down all fanaticism, and the calling out of the redifs has drained the country of young men. I have, therefore, no apprehension of any difficulty occurring to delay our work or to interfere with the manner of its progress.

The work that had to be done from this camp was: 1st. The detail of the Acca Plain had to be worked in; 2nd, the line of levels running from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee had to be completed from Mejdal to the sea. I am glad to be able to report that both these works have been satisfactorily finished. The detail of forty-five square miles has been worked in, and two bench-marks have been cut at Haiffa on the rocks, and one at Jiden, thus finishing the levelling on this side.

Owing to the lateness of the rainy season this year the country is still in a very swampy condition, and even had we not been unavoidably delayed, work could hardly have been begun before. The Kishon has to be crossed in a boat, the horses and mules swimming, and as we have had to cross it twice every day it has caused great loss of time. The first day we found considerable difficulty in crossing the Plain of Acca owing to the marshy nature of the ground after the late rains, and could only get to our work by making a long detour after some of us had experienced the pleasures of a mud bath. We were also delayed one day by wet weather.

I have also made a strict inquiry after the name of "Kulmon" or "Kalamon," mentioned in *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1876, p. 20, as to be found on the maps of Robinson, Ritter, and Jacotin, but not on those of M. Guerin and Vandevelde, and which also occurs on Murray's map. The German colony here have purchased nearly all the land north of Tirsch, and by the kind permission of Mr. Sennaker, I have been allowed to carefully examine their title-deeds; though they have land all round Khurbet Kefr es Samir, no such name occurs.

I have also ridden to Tireh with the sole object of finding this name. I asked every one I met on the road there and back, about twenty people, first for all the names of the country round, and as a last resource, if they had ever heard of "Kulmon," "Kulammon," or anything like it. At Kh. Kefr es Samir I found an old man who inhabited a cave close by, and put the same questions. At Tireh I saw the sheikh and about

two dozen men; none had ever heard of such a name. Since then the superior of the convent of Mount Carmel, who knows the district most thoroughly, has assured me that no such name occurs. I can therefore only assume that the name does not exist, and that our map is therefore right in not putting it on. How other maps have procured the name seems difficult to understand; but, as in some other case, it may have been supplied by some too enthusiastic traveller, who looked more for what ought to be in the country than what is.

Lieutenant Conder appears to have got over the difficulty of the want of the name in the case of the identification of Kalamon, *vide Quarterly Statement*, January, 1876, p. 20.

I hope to-morrow to move my camp to Hattin, and from thence, and the camp after, to survey the shores of the Sea of Galilee.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.,
Commanding Survey of Palestine.

JACOB'S WELL.

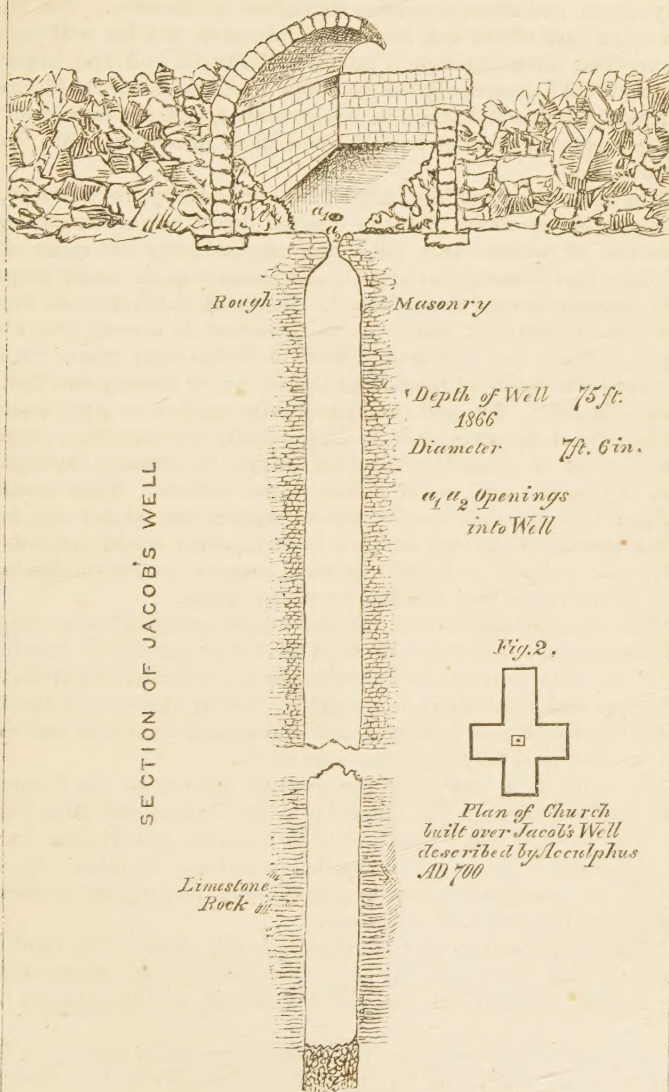
A PARAGRAPH in the last *Quarterly Statement* informed subscribers that Dr. Nathaniel Rogers, of Exeter, had contributed £50, and Miss Peache, of Wimbledon, £100, for the purpose of clearing out Jacob's Well, and for surrounding and protecting the well with stonework. Before this can be done it is necessary that a careful examination should be made of the site, and this will be carried out at the earliest opportunity by Lieutenant Kitchener, who is now in Palestine. Pending the receipt of Lieutenant Kitchener's report, it may be interesting to the subscribers to have before them an account of the well and the adjacent site from notes taken on the spot by our explorer, Captain Anderson, in 1866.

“March 31st, 1877.

“Jacob's Well is situated at the spot where the Vale of Shechem merges into the Plain of El Mukna, and the site is acknowledged by Jews, Moslems, and Christians. The existence of a well sunk to a great depth in a place where watersprings on the surface are abundant is sufficiently remarkable to give this well a peculiar history. It is remarkably characteristic of the prudence and forethought of the great Patriarch, who, having purchased a parcel of ground at the entrance of the vale, secured on his own property, by dint of great toil, a perennial supply of water at a time when the adjacent watersprings were in the hands of unfriendly, if not actually hostile neighbours.

“In the midst of a mass of ruined stones, among which are two or three columns still standing, is a vaulted chamber about fifteen feet square, and in the floor of the chamber are two openings four feet apart, one of which is the proper mouth of the well. The other opening is either an accidental breach, or has been designedly made in a rough and ready way for the convenience of having two mouths, by which pitchers

RUINED VAULT OVER
JACOBS' WELL.



could be lowered into the well simultaneously. The true mouth of the well has a narrow opening just wide enough to allow the body of a man to pass through with arms uplifted, and this narrow neck, which is about four feet long, opens out into the well itself, which is cylindrically shaped and about seven feet six inches in diameter. The mouth and upper part of the well is built of masonry, and the well appears to have been sunk through a mixture of alluvial soil and limestone fragments till a compact bed of mountain limestone was reached, having horizontal strata which could be easily worked, and the interior of the well presents the appearance of being lined throughout with rough masonry.

"The well, when examined in 1866, was only seventy-five feet deep, but there can be no doubt that the original depth was much greater, as quantities of rubbish have fallen into the well from the ruins of the buildings that formerly covered it, and passers-by for many centuries have probably thrown stones into it. Robinson states that the well in 1838 was 105 feet deep, and if his measurement is correct, *débris* to a depth of thirty feet has accumulated in thirty-eight years. In 1875 the depth was found by Lieutenant Conder to be seventy-five feet, the same as in 1866. The well was undoubtedly sunk to a great depth for the purpose of securing, even in exceptionally dry seasons, a supply of water, which at great depths would always be filtering through the sides of the well and would collect at the bottom. When examined in April, 1866, the well was dry, but an earthenware pitcher was found at the bottom of the well and not broken, which would indicate that water still collects in the well at some seasons, as the pitcher would have been broken had it fallen upon the stones.

"The vaulted chamber over the well might possibly be the crypt of the church built over the well about the fourth century.* Arculphus, one of the early travellers in Palestine, describes the church in the form of a cross and the well in the middle; but by the time of the Crusaders the church was destroyed, and subsequent travellers who visited the well mention only the ruins around it.

"It would be a matter of the greatest interest if the Committee were enabled, through the liberality of Dr. Rogers and Miss Peache, not only to clear out the well, but to excavate and disclose to view the foundations of one of the earliest cruciform churches. It would then be for consideration how to give effect to the proposal to surround and protect the well with stonework.

"The accompanying woodcut illustrates the state of the vault as it appeared nine years ago, but since then many of the stones composing it, and probably all the well-cut stones in the adjacent ruins,

* In *Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1874, page 6, reference is made to the church at Abu Ghôsh, named after St. Jerome, where excavations have disclosed a crypt, forming a complete subterranean church, which contains a cave or cistern filled with water.



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THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

I.—TOMB OF JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

ABOUT twenty yards west of the Holy Sepulchre, in the church itself, is a little crypt traditionally known as the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, or the Tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus. The question whether this crypt is ancient or not has long been recognised as one of the essential elements in the great controversy over the authenticity of the Sepulchre.

The ascertained existence in this place of remains belonging without doubt to a Jewish burial-place, would at once remove one of the principal objections to the authenticity of the site.

The question may, in fact, be resolved into two propositions, the latter subordinate to the former—viz., (1) Can the traditional Sepulchre, which is within the walls of the modern city, really be a Jewish tomb? and (2) If so, can it be the Tomb of our Lord?

The presence round the Sepulchre of a group of ancient tombs would solve the first difficulty, which many desire to see removed before proceeding to the second. They do not see their way to admit that there were, in the time of our Lord, tombs existing on the spot which now is shown as His. It is, therefore, most important to establish, if possible, the fact that the shrine now adored has, or may have, within it, if not the very tomb in which Jesus was laid, at least a real Jewish tomb.

Both adversaries and partisans of the Sepulchre have appreciated the value of this preliminary difficulty, and have from the first made it the starting-point of their argument. But neither have, in my opinion, produced an exhaustive examination of the place in dispute.

I have been enabled, by a careful study of this crypt, to ascertain sundry points which I believe have not been noticed by my predecessors, and which appear to me decisive in this question.

Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon has recently, in a remarkable article on the Holy Sepulchre,* called attention to this aspect of an archæological problem which, in spite of its erudite character, has had the rare privilege of exciting general interest and raising the most passionate discussions, and he has shown the value of the new facts ascertained by my own researches on this point. I will endeavour to explain very briefly the nature of these results, and to bring before the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* a few observations on their nature and extent.

A few yards west of the Holy Sepulchre, which rises isolated in the midst of the rotunda of the church, we enter, after passing through two of the columns on which the cupola rests, a little chapel belonging to the Syrians. At the end of the chapel is an apse looking west. A passage on the left, at the commencement of the apse, gives access obliquely to a narrow and dark retreat partly formed by walls cut in the rock, and partly by the wall belonging to the church itself.

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1877.

There is a step cut in the rock. Mounting this, we see at our feet, by the uncertain light of a smoky lamp, a black and angular hole in the rocky soil. A few inches beyond we have before us the wall cut vertically in the rock. In the middle of this wall is an arcade semicircular and sunk in the wall, about 4 feet in height by 24 feet in breadth. It covers two smaller arched openings, two black and gaping jaws—*bokim* (K J, Fig. 2), which are sunk horizontally into the rocky foundation to a depth which we shall presently learn.

On the right is another wall of rock, making, with that of the end, an obtuse angle. Two other openings (I H) are pierced in it, but these are walled up. Between the second mouth and the entrance of the vault the wall is constructed; in it is a door (E) shut with a key.



Fig. 1

The wall on the left is made up of a thick wall (Fig. 1, which traverses diagonally the ditch cut in the ground, and forms, with the two other walls, two very acute angles. The lamp is suspended to this wall.

This singular retreat is therefore triangular. Two only of the sides are of rock, the third being a part of the wall belonging to the church, which appears to have been thus built across a pre-existing cave. The greater part of the roof is also cut in the rock.

At the left extremity of the wall, at the back, beside the opening of the hole K, we may recognise the existence of a third opening similar to the others, but walled up and partly hidden by the thick oblique wall.

The stopping of this opening is not so perfect but that we can insert a thin stick and prove that here is a third place, L, parallel to the other two, and lying, like those, horizontally in the rock.

On the wall to right we make a similar observation. There was once following the two openings I II (Fig. 2), in the place occupied by the little closed gate E, a third opening parallel to the preceding. It is easy to ascertain, towards the point O, the commencement of the lateral wall of the opening now destroyed.

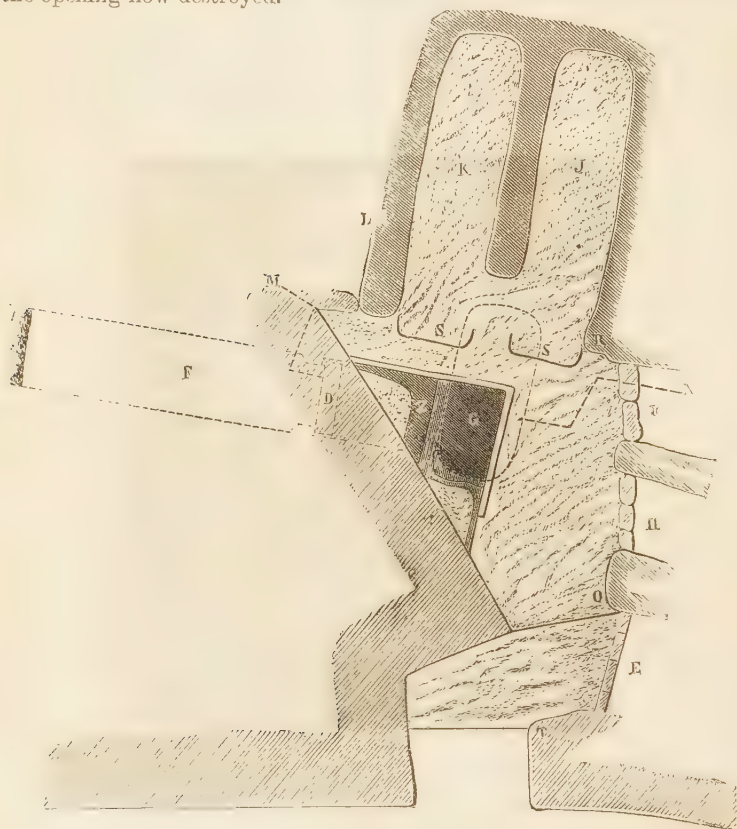


Fig. 2

Already in this disposition of rock-cut openings had been recognised the general form of Jewish tombs, which consists of a small square cave, with a certain number (generally 3+3+3) of loculi in three of the four faces. But even those who admitted this resemblance were unable to give a satisfactory account of the primitive form which belonged to this cave, and could offer no reply to the grave objections which their adversaries made on certain strange peculiarities.

Before proceeding further, let us consider a point which has contributed largely to the controversy; it is the kind of hole cut in the rocky floor of the chamber in front of the loculus K, which I have already mentioned. It consists of a triangular opening, Z G, the angle of which is opposed to the oblique wall on the left. The two sides of this angle show on the edge a small groove or rebate, probably intended to receive a horizontal slab. Along the wall the edges of the trench are irregularly cut away.

On descending (at G) into this hollow, which is 3ft. 7in. deep, we find ourselves in a kind of long cave, marked in dots on the plan (Fig. 2), which runs partly (especially on the right between S S) under the rock: thus we can see at G, on Fig. 2, how it penetrates beneath the loculi K J. This hole is less than 5ft. long by 1ft. 8in. in breadth. Certainly no adult body could have been placed in it. Still less, again, in the

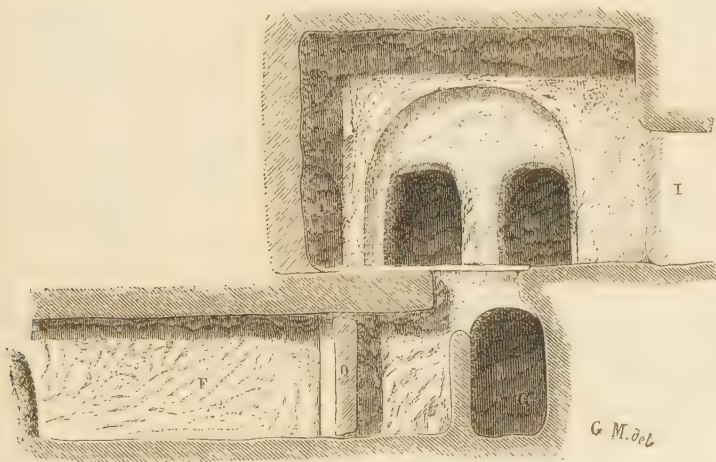


Fig. 3.

hole Z, which is close to G, and separated from it only by a thin partition cut in the rock. This is rectangular, and 2ft. in length by 1ft. 7in. in breadth; it is partly covered over by a fragment of flat rock. Its height is 2ft. 7in. Between the edge of the rock forming the ceiling and the upper edge of the partition, which separates the two trenches Z H, there is only 10in. of breadth.

The smallness of these dimensions renders the examination of these holes extremely difficult. That is probably the reason why no one before me ever ascertained a *fact of capital importance, so much so as to profoundly modify all received ideas up to the present on one side and the other.*

But before stating what I may without any exaggeration call a discovery, let me return to a few details which are not without interest.

Those who maintain the apocryphal character of the Holy Sepulchre, relying on the dimensions of the two latter holes (to which tradition attaches the names of Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus) deny them any sepulchral character, because they are not large enough to contain the bodies of adults. The objection is specious, and it has been even pushed to an extreme by the supposition that we have here a pseudo-sepulchre hollowed out at the period of the Crusaders on a Jewish model, in order to furnish a material justification of the legend. I need not point out how inadmissible this supposition is, and how little in accordance with popular habits, which generally imagine the legend in order to explain the monument.

It might be replied that we have simply two hollow places excavated as ossuaries, and intended to receive the bones accumulated in the sepulchre either directly or by means of those little funerary chests or coffins of which I collected so many and such curious specimens during my mission.

The same objection has been urged against the loculi K J placed in the higher level. In fact, these two loculi hardly measure more at the present moment than 5ft. in depth, which is insufficient for a body of ordinary proportions.

The loculi have in general a depth of 6ft. 6in.; and it must be owned that this time the objection is more embarrassing than before, and that those who think these are fictitious or artificial sepulchres may find an occasion for triumph over this argument. The reply, however, although it has never to my knowledge been made, is easy.

We saw above that the mouths of the two loculi are within a sunken arcade; hollowed out, that is, of the flat vertical wall. Suppose for a moment that the arcade was made after the loculi. What follows? The loculi would be increased in length by the space which they lost in sinking the arcade, as the arcade would have simply shortened the loculi by cutting away the front part. Well, that is exactly what has happened. The loculi originally extended as far as S S in the drawing; we have the material proof. The removal of the rock has not been so skilfully effected as not to leave behind the visible traces of this original extension. These traces are easily to be recognised in the engraving of the cave.

We must also observe that this unmistakable mark, which goes considerably beyond the end of the arcade, is slightly in advance of the perpendicular face of the wall, which would tend to prove that the wall itself had experienced a slight setting back.

If we proceed to restore the loculi to their original dimensions by measuring them from the end to the line S S, we shall find ample room for our regulation two metres.

But, it will be asked, for what purpose was this arcade hollowed out and the two loculi thus disfigured? For what purpose? Here we may introduce our legend. Popular belief attached to this place the names of Joseph and Nicodemus. The double site has been localised in the

two loculi, visible at once to pilgrims, to this crypt half destroyed by the construction of the church. Then, in order to fix this association indissolubly to the spot, and to give the sanctuary in course of formation a religious consecration, they constructed this kind of niche, convenient for the purposes of worship, and lending to these openings thus connected the aspect of a little chapel. I am convinced, for my own part, that in the middle ages the two tombs revered were the two loculi, and not, as is generally admitted, the two little subterranean hollows to the consideration of which I must now come.

If we descend into hole G and contrive to introduce a head into the narrow opening of Z (10in.) to examine its walls, we shall be amply rewarded for this disagreeable kind of *tour de force*, which makes the archæologist, so to speak, stand on his head. The same results can, to be sure, be arrived at by lying flat on the ground and then sliding into the hole head first: a position quite as uncomfortable as the first. We perceive, then, that the rectangular hollow, Z, is not in reality en-

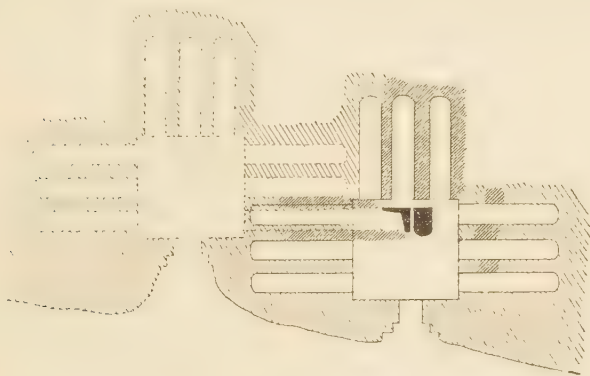


Fig. 4.

tirely formed by the rock, but that one of its sides, that of the end, parallel to the partition of rock, *consists of a vertical slab about 2ft. 3in. in height.*

This slab covers the entrance of a long passage apparently cut in the rock; it seems to be placed against a little rebate, also well cut and jutting out behind it. I was able to introduce between the interstices of the slab and the rock in which it rests a long stick, which penetrated to more than 6ft. 6in.; after that I could get no farther, and I thought I was stopped by earth and rubbish. I repeated my experiment several times, and touched with the stick the side walls and roof of this kind of corridor. M. Lecomte relieved me in this fatiguing work and it is thus that we were able to get the elements of the figures marked F in Figs. 2 and 3. After a good many failures I managed to light up the passage by arming the extremity of my stick

with a bit of lighted candle, and so verify by sight what I had discovered by touch.

A single glance at the drawings will show all those who are at all conversant with the question the considerable value of this fact, which, I think, I was the first to discover, and by which the field of a discussion already large is remarkably enlarged. I need hardly speak of the ardent curiosity which impelled me to find out, if possible, whither the passage blocked by this mysterious slab leads. There is the chance of finding oneself in some new sepulchral chamber totally unknown before: perhaps inviolate, perhaps pillaged, but so as to leave behind some relics precious to an archaeologist—funerary objects, worthless in themselves, but furnishing valuable evidence of synchronisms; ossuaries, fragments of ossuaries, with Hebrew inscriptions such as I found in other places round Jerusalem. Cannot we picture to ourselves the conclusions which might be drawn, on the points at issue, from an epigraphic document of this kind? I indulged in all these dreams of an antiquary, and I may go on indulging in them, because the authorisation to remove the slab could not be procured. The possession of this sanctuary is, like so many others, the object of dispute among the various clergies, so that



FIG. 5.

one does not know where to apply. Besides, at the moment I was in a very delicate situation towards the administrative and religious authorities of Jerusalem, in consequence of the quarrel about the "Moabite" potteries and the Gezer case. I had raised up against myself so many animosities that even my personal credit was beginning to suffer. Everybody knows, besides, what grave political complications may be caused in that singular city of Jerusalem by the least attempt to touch, not only a stone, but even a rag, or a nail, in these disputed sacred places.

Is it possible, from what we already know, to form any idea of what this unknown passage may be?

The first idea which presents itself is that, as in many other sepulchral chambers, a corridor gives access to a second chamber situated at a lower level (Fig. 5). But, on reflection, that seems difficult to suppose. The dimensions of this corridor, although narrow, are indeed broad enough to admit of passage, and the different cemeteries of Jerusalem furnish us examples of corridors as narrow and as low; but the dimensions of the mouth of the passage, between the edge of the flooring and the partition, are certainly too small. A living man might with difficulty thrust him-

self through this kind of cleft; but it appears to me almost impossible to force a body through. The rigidity of death would prevent the bending of the limbs necessary to get through this cleft into the passage itself.

The same objection may be raised against those who may be tempted to consider this space (F, Fig. 3) as belonging simply to a supplementary loculus, the slab closing the original opening, and the loculus coming to an end in the rock close to the point A, where I ascertained the presence of the *débris*. Passage or loculus, this hole offers equal difficulties to the introduction of a corpse. Besides, in the latter assumption, we are open to new considerations.

1. The mouth, nearly impracticable, of this opening, would be in advance, in the middle of the sepulchral chamber; we should expect it to be, as usual in such cases, below the loculi in the left wall, and in the vertical level of this wall.

2. The height of this loculus, about 2ft. 7in., would be greater than that of the loculi (L K J) of the same sepulchre.*

3. The length of this pretended loculus, measured from the partition which separates G and Z to the point A reached by my rod, is 9ft. 1in.; that is, it would exceed by 2ft. 7in. the regular length of the loculi. If we only measured from the slab D—i.e., from the rebate, we should obtain the normal length of 6ft. 6in.; but what are we to make, in that case, of the trench Z, which would then be situated in front of the loculus, and would be a useless and unintelligible prolongation?

4. The accumulation of rubbish in A (Figs. 2 and 3), at the end of the passage, seems to show that there is a large space beyond from which the rubbish comes; the angle of this accumulation Δ leads us to believe that the *débris* has fallen in a direction from A to D, and not from D to A, in which case the angle would be $\angle$, just the reverse. Now, the end of the loculus being exactly marked by this point A, whence come the *débris* which we find where we looked for rock?

This place, therefore, is not a blind passage.

The right wall (R O, Fig. 2) is not the original wall, although it is cut in the rock. It would form, with the rocky wall at the end (in which are the loculi K J), nearly a right, and not, as in fact it does form, an acute angle. It is probable that it lay originally along the line R T, and that it was afterwards cut again to enlarge the chamber, and especially to form a passage between the wall on the left and the point O. Naturally the loculi I H E have been shortened by the operation, so that we can now predicate of them that when it is possible to explore them, they will not be found of the normal length of 6ft. 6in.

The original *point de départ* of this wall thus altered is perhaps marked in the rock by a small notch at the point R, although this lies a little behind the marks at S S, the mouths of the loculi K J.

* The same remark applies to the niche G, which is nearly of the same height, and which we cannot, for reasons given above, consider as a loculus, but as a receptacle for ossuaries.

We may observe besides, that in adopting this, so to speak, forced restoration of the wall on the right, we note that one of the walls of the loculi N and E (in O) is manifestly perpendicular to this imaginary line. If we suppose that the side walls of the three other loculi have been slightly altered or re-cut transversely to a depth at which they were originally irregular, we can establish between the wall on the right and the loculi which were pierced there, the perpendicularity which is *de rigueur*, and which the present state of the place is far from showing.

The loculus J of the wall at the end, and the loculus I on the right wall (Fig. 2), considered by themselves, are very nearly at right angles at R, as is the custom in the tombs of Palestine; but the irregularity commences at the second side wall of the loculus I, which is not parallel to the first.

Taking all these observations into consideration, we had better suppose the corridor to be nothing else than a loculus belonging to a *neighbouring chamber* (Figs. 4 and 5), and that the end of it was perforated and prolonged at the time when the trenches G and Z were cut. It is an accident which not infrequently happens in the tombs of Palestine: often two sepulchral caves are so close, that the *kokims* of the one penetrate to the interior of the other. This penetration may be accidental, the result of inaccurate measurements, or ignorance of the existence of a neighbouring chamber, or intentional to establish a communication between the two caves and make them one and the same tomb. Here the communication would seem to have been due to accident, otherwise they would have had to make access to the "corridor" easier and less painful. Nevertheless I cannot be certain on this last point; it is most prudent to wait for a complete exploration.

However that may be, loculus or corridor, it is more than probable that this passage, unknown up to the present day, leads to a second sepulchral chamber situated on a slightly lower level than that of the first, and completely covered over with the building of the church.

II.—THE FRIEZE OVER THE SOUTH DOOR.

In one of my Reports published in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (1874, p. 140) I gave an account of a remarkable bas-relief in marble, found in an Arab's house in Jerusalem, and representing the triumphal entry of our Lord on the Day of Palms. I ascertained the presence in this fragment of the mediæval dressing, which I have proved to be the infallible sign of Crusaders' work in Palestine; and I drew the conclusion that the monument, despite its Byzantine air, was really Western work. I also observed a general inclination of the figures forward, which seemed to show that the sculpture was intended for some door-lintel or decorative frieze, and meant to be seen from below, like that which surmounts the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*not* the Church of St. John, as by some typographic error I am made to say in the *Quarterly Statement*).

I believe I have found the exact origin of this interesting fragment; and if so, this origin fully confirms all the observations and conclusions I then drew from the appearance of the fragment.

It is nothing else than a piece of the frieze of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which represents different scenes in the life of our Lord. On examining recently a drawing of the frieze, I find that there is a great gap in the scene of the triumphal entry, which this fragment just fills up. I have a photograph of the fragment, but, unfortunately, none of the frieze, else I might be able to show at once that the edges of the fragment correspond with the border of the frieze.

It is to be desired that the fragment might be restored to its original place, which would be an exceedingly simple operation. They told me that it belonged to the foundation of an Arab house; very likely the truth, because the mutilation may be old enough to allow of the piece broken off being used over again in new buildings. We have on this point evidence as far back as 1480, that of the German monk, F. Faber, otherwise Friar Schmidt, who has left us a minute account of the church. After saying that the lintel over the entrance of the church is of white marble (*de candidissimo marmore*), and that it is sculptured on the outside to represent the entry into Jerusalem of the Lord mounted on an ass (*sculptum imaginibus de ingressu Domini super asinam in Jerusalem*), the scene of those who bought and sold in the Temple, and the resurrection of Lazarus, he adds that these sculptures have been broken and mutilated (*violenter destructa et mutilata membris*). The mutilation is thus at least as old as the 15th century. Baedeker's Guide says:—"Then follows the entry into Jerusalem: here, unfortunately, the principal figure is destroyed, with the exception of the head. . . . The execution of the whole work is remarkably lifelike."

C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

THE memoir of Sheet 7 is now complete, and contains many points of interest. Among others the notes on Caesarea will be of great value, as giving dated specimens of the Crusading work. It is possible to distinguish the work of Gautier D'Avesne (1218 A.D.) in the walls, from that of the time of St. Louis (1251 A.D.), and thus to give indications as to the date of many buildings in Palestine as yet undetermined and not heard of in history. The use of "male" and "female" arches in the cathedral and other buildings, also, is of importance, as disproving the idea that one kind was Saracenic, the other Gothic.

The mediæval history of Palestine is of the greatest importance. If ignorant of the towns and castles built by the Crusaders, we shall always be in danger of imputing too great antiquity to existing runs, and unable to disentangle the threads of native and foreign tradition. I

have now prepared an index of more than 300 mediæval sites; but many will be added by study of the Chronicles before this can be considered at all complete.

One or two out-of-the-way identifications may be noted.

Sellam was a casale, or village, which was given to the Teutonic knights, about 1200 A.D. It was in Galilee, and mentioned with Mogar (*el Mughâr*), Zekkanin (*Sukhnîn*), Arabia (*'Arrâbeh*), and Romane (*Rumânâch*). It is evidently, therefore, the modern *Khûrbet Sellâmeh*, the Salamis of Josephus; but the identification seems to have been missed by M. Rey, who identifies the other places. It was a Druse village, but was reduced to ruins in 1110 A.H.

Jemrârah.—This curious name exists in the south, on Sheet 21, applied to a ruin. It is no doubt the Gammuraris mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy (circa 140 A.D.) as in Idumæa (a term applied to all the Hebron hills by Josephus) on the west of Jordan.

Ushch, in Gahlee, was one of the seats of the Sanhedrim, the only one as yet unknown. It was separated from Shafram (*Shefa-'Amr*) by a sabbath day's journey. This serves to identify it with the little ruin called *Hûshch*, S.W. of the latter town, and which, if we allow each town to have had a limit of a sabbath day's journey, is separated from *Shefa 'Amr* by the required distance.

Tomb of Habakkuk.—This was shown according to St. Jerome at Ecceia, seven miles from Eleutheropolis, which he supposes to be the site of the hill Hachilah (Oron. s.v. *Echela*). Again he speaks of the same place as being Keilah (s.v. *Ceila*), and eight miles from Eleutheropolis towards Hebron. Again, speaking of Gabatha, twelve miles from Eleutheropolis (s.v. *Gabaath*), he states that the tomb of Habakkuk was to be seen there. The remains of Habakkuk and Micah are said to have been found at Keilah in the time of Zebenus, Bishop of Eleutheropolis, according to Nicephorus (H.E. xii. 48) and Sozomen (H.E. vii. 28). The two accounts of Jerome do not seem to agree; the first place, Keilah or Hachilah, is evidently the modern *Kilah*, which is about seven Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, where old tombs occur. The Gabatha mentioned is evidently *Jebel*, further north, eleven Roman miles from Beit Jibrin, near which is a ruin called *Habeik*, which it struck me might have some connection with the name of Habakkuk, as it comes from an equivalent root. The *Mukâms* here do not preserve the name required.

Hachilah.—As regards Hachilah, Jerome is evidently wrong. The hill Hachilah (*Exelâ*) was on the right, or south of the Jeshimon (1 Sam. xxiii. 19), and is also noticed as "facing" it (1 Sam. xxvi. 3). The Jeshimon is generally supposed to be the desert between the Dead Sea and the Hebron hills. It seems to me most probable that the name of this famous hill is preserved in the *Dhalret el Kolah*, or "hilly ridge," which runs down from the plateau on which *Zif* stands, towards the desert of Engedi. The identification supposes a softening of the first guttural, of which there are accepted examples. The Hebrew *caf* is

properly represented by its equivalent in Arabic, and the slight change would be accounted for by the meaning thus given to the word in Arabic.*

Geba.—Another place of this name is noted in the Onomasticon as five miles from Gophna, in the direction of Neapolis. This is evidently the modern *Jibia*, a village in the required direction. Jerome makes it the Gebim of Isaiah x. 13, but the position seems rather far north for this to be correct. Out of 211 places known to Jerome, and noted in the Onomasticon, the following only have escaped identification:—

1. *Adasa*, near Gophna.
2. *Addara*, near Thamnitica and Diospolis.
3. *Adia*, near Gaza.
4. *Arath*, west of Jerusalem.
5. *Aser*, between Ascalon and Azotus.
6. *Azekah*, on road from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem.
7. *Gittha*, between Antipatris and Jamnia.
8. *Erimiththa*, in Daroma.
9. *En Nadab*, ten miles from Eleutheropolis, on the way to Jerusalem.
10. *Curncea*, nine miles from Jerusalem.
11. *Lochis*, seven miles south of Eleutheropolis.
12. *Morasthi*, east of Eleutheropolis.
13. *Salaba*, a large village in the country of Sebaste.
14. *Sanim*, east of Neapolis.
15. *Caphtis*, in Judea.

This will give an idea of the completeness with which the topography has been worked out. Sites without the present boundary of the work (about six in all) are not in this list.

Chasbi.—This place, which Jerome makes to be Chezib, he notices as deserted, and near Adullam. The name is probably preserved in the modern *'Ain Kerbeh*, near *Beit Nettif*. Jerome's identification seems in this case not improbably correct. (Compare Joshua xv. 44.)

Hawa.—This word enters into the names of many places in Palestine, and has, I think, been generally mistranslated. Thus Robinson renders *Kaukab el Hawa* "Meteor of the air," and *Deir el Hawa* "Convent of the wind." But the original meaning of the root in Arabic is "to fall down," and in Hebrew the same word means "ruin." It would seem a considerable improvement to render these names "Kaukab the fallen," and "the tumbled-down convent," titles which apply well to the heaps of fallen masonry. *Kaukab* means, among other things, "a prison," and is the name of several places in Palestine.

Issachar.—The cities of this tribe are important, because its limits

* In a former report I proposed the hill of *Yâkin* as Hachilah, but there are several objections to this: first, it is *west*, not *south* of the Jeshimon; secondly, the letter K is a *Koph*, not a *Kaf*, as required; thirdly, the place has been identified as the site of the town of Cain.

are not otherwise marked. Those identified as yet are given in the list below:—

1. Jezreel	= <i>Zerîn.</i>
2. Chesulloth	= <i>Iksal.</i>
3. Shunem	= <i>Sulem.</i>
4. Haphraim (Affarea, Onom.) .. .	= <i>el Farrîyeh, C.R.C.</i>
5. Shihon (Seon, Onom.) .. .	
6. Anaharath	= <i>en N'aurah, C.R.C.</i>
7. Rabbith	= <i>Râba, C.R.C.</i>
8. Kishion	
9. Abez	= <i>el Khûzneḥ ? C.R.C.</i>
10. Remeth	= <i>Râmeh.</i>
11. En Gannim	= <i>Jenîn.</i>
12. En Haddah	
13. Beth Pазzez	

Abez means white (Arabic, *Abîd*); the town from position would perhaps be near Taanach (as Kishion is near Kedesh = *T. Abu Kûdeis*). There is here an important ruin called *el Khûzneḥ* ("the treasure"), and a spring called *'Ain el Abîd* ("white spring"), perhaps a trace of Abez. The last two sites may perhaps be recovered in the Jordan valley or the hills just above it.

Sun Dial in the Haram.—This is a curious piece of solid masonry, shown on the Ordnance Plan south-west of the Kubbet es Sakhrâh, on the platform. Its use was explained to me by the sheikh of the mosque. The dial is, however, gone.

In the anonymous description of Palestine (*circa* 1151-57 A.D.), published by De Vogüé (*Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 426), is a passage which may be translated from the Latin as follows:—

"Between the temple and the altar was Barachias the son of Zacharias slain, which altar, afterwards converted by the Saracens into a sun-dial (*horologium*), may still be seen in the court."

The Temple (*Templum Domini*) in the middle ages was identified with the Kubbet es Sakhrâh. In the rock the chronicles suppose the ark to be hidden under the Holy of Holies; in this they follow Jewish tradition, which supposes the ark in the Temple of Herod to have been in a cave under the Eben Shatiyeh, or stone of foundation.

Sinjil.—This curious name, applying to a village just west of the Nablus road, and about twenty miles from Jerusalem and twelve from Nablus, has always been a puzzle to me. In the itinerary above mentioned we probably see the explanation, for the name, containing four radicals, is apparently not Arabic.

"Ten miles from Sychem is the Casale of Saint Gilles (*Sancti Egidii*), taking its name from the Count of Saint Gilles (Raymond, the fourth Count of Toulouse, called of Saint Gilles—first Crusade, according to Du Vogüé's note), who here camped with the Frank army the day before they came to Jerusalem. Fourteen miles from this Casale is Jerusalem."

The proportionate distances agree, though the mile used seems to have been longer than the English mile. This is almost the only case I have met of a town retaining a Crusading name; there were many others to which the Crusaders gave new names, as Casal Blanc (*Kueikât*), Casale Lambert, Casal Beroard (*Minet el Kü'ah*), Casale Royal, which have lost their mediæval names. C. R. C.

THE MOSLEM MUKAMS.

I.

NEXT to the study of the language of the peasantry in Palestine there is probably nothing which will throw more light on the question of the origin of their race than that of the vulgar faith as exemplified in the local sanctuaries scattered over the country, a study which is also of no little importance in relation to the ancient topography of Palestine, as is shown by the various sites which have been recovered by means of the tradition of sacred tombs preserved after the name of the site itself had been lost.

In his interesting paper on the Peasantry (*Quarterly Statement*, Oct., 1875) M. Ganneau remarks: "A methodical search for these *Mukâms* is of the greatest importance." This search has been made during the course of the Survey, so that the names of no fewer than 300 sacred places are now marked on the map, many of which are of the greatest value. It is proposed here to give a sketch of the character of these sites, abstracted from the notes which are to form part of the memoir.

It must be stated first that there is a marked difference between the Bedouin and the Fellahin in regard to the *Mukâms*. In the country occupied by the nomads no such buildings exist, with exception of one or two fallen into ruins. The Arabs, or Bedouin, are by profession Moslems, by practice (at all events east of Jôrdan) heathen and moon-worshippers, as in the time of Mohammed. Their sacred places are the tombs of their ancestors, and the ancient history of Palestine forms no part of the religion of a race which only entered and conquered the country a thousand years after Christ.

With the *Fellahin* it is far different. In their religious observances and sanctuaries we find, as in their language, the true history of the country. On a basis of polytheistic faith which most probably dates back to pre-Israelite times, we find a growth of the most heterogeneous description; Christian tradition, Moslem history, and foreign worship, are mingled so as often to be entirely indistinguishable, and the so-called Moslem is found worshipping at shrines consecrated to Jewish, Samaritan, Christian, and often Pagan memories.

It is in worship at these shrines that the religion of the peasantry consists. Moslem by profession, they often spend their lives without entering a mosque, and attach more importance to the favour and pro-

tection of the village *Mūkām* than to *Allāh* himself, or to Mohammed his prophet.

The word *Mūkām* (the Hebrew *Makom*) means simply "a place" or "station," but the use as meaning a "sacred place" dates back to the Bible times, and it is found in Deuteronomy (chap. xii. v. 2) applied to the places of false worship existing throughout Palestine at the time of Joshua's conquest. Other titles are applied to the sacred sites. *Haram* ("sanctuary"), *Kubbeh* ("dome"), *Jāmi'a* ("meeting-house" or "mosque"), *Mazār* ("shrine"), *Mesh-hed* ("monument"). The latter is used also for the little piles of stones (*Meshā-hed*) raised by pilgrims at the various high points (*Meshārif*), whence the sanctuaries first become visible.

The divinities are also known by various titles: *Nebī* (Hebrew *Nebi*), "the prophet," only applied to the more important and generally the most ancient; *Sihna*, "our Lord," applied to the patriarchs and to Moslem saints of the first order; *Waly*, "favourite," or saint, a term often applied by a very simple ellipsis to the building itself; *Sheikh*, "chief" or "elder," by far the commonest term; and *Hāj*, "pilgrim," applied very rarely.

The *Mūkāms* are not always supposed to stand over the tombs of the saints to whom they are dedicated. A cenotaph is indeed almost always to be found there, but often they are regarded merely as "stations," like those in Roman Catholic countries, not necessarily connected with the history of the saint, though very often erected on spots where it is considered probable that he once stood.

The white dome of the *Mūkām* is the most conspicuous object in a Syrian village. The sacred chapel on the hill-top, or the sacred tree by the road-side, is of constant occurrence, and brings forcibly to mind the words of Scripture denouncing the idol altars on mountain-tops and "under every green tree." Few who have visited Palestine will doubt that in the *Mūkāms* we see the survival of the Canaanite false worship; and in one case (*Sheikh Abu 'Amr*) I found beside the chapel a huge platform of unsquared stone and a pit cut in rock, which seemed not impossible to be the remains of the ancient altar of this divinity, whose present title means simply "the father of worship."

The *Mūkāms* differ very materially in their importance. Mr. Drake, writing on the subject (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1872, p. 179) remarks that whilst in one instance the *Mūkām* is a mosque, in another it is merely a rude circle of stones. In some cases nothing is to be seen at all, in others (as at *Tibreh*) the name is attached to a sacred tree, to the branches of which rags are attached as votive offerings.

The reverence shown for these sacred spots is unbounded. Every

The word is also used in Exod. xx. 24, as follows: "In all places (*Ham-Makom*) where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." The passage in Deuteronomy is as follows: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places (*Ham-Makomoth*) wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree."

fallen stone from the building, every withered branch of the tree, is carefully preserved. The chapels are sanctuaries in which property can be left with perfect safety. Thus a plough is often to be found put away inside, and one of the sheikhs receives the title "the trustee," from the fact that articles of value to the peasantry are left under his care. The ordinary *Mūkām* is a little square building, some 10 feet side and 8 feet high, surmounted by a dome, generally having a rude stone crescent in the centre. The building is generally modern, of rude masonry, whitewashed, and therefore very conspicuous. In the south wall, in the interior, is a *Mihrah*, or "prayer niche," and very generally there is a rude grave in the corner—a cenotaph resembling a modern Moslem tomb. A few mats cover the floor, the door is often ornamented with henna, and a pitcher of water is left for the pilgrims. A large tree, also held sacred, very generally grows close by, a carob, or oak, or terebinth being the most common.

There is frequently a custodian to the site—a religious *sheikh*, a *derwish*, or perhaps the elder of the neighbouring village.

The sanctuary is never entered except with bare feet, and the expression *destūr* ("permission") or *destūr ya mubārakeh* ("your leave, O blessed one") is used on crossing the threshold.

It is stated that sacrifices are offered at these places, but this I have never witnessed; votive offerings are given, and when a person is sick a little earthenware lamp is lighted at the *Mūkām*. Processions round the chapel are also often made, especially at the feast of *Beirām*.*

The fear of the anger of the local divinity is deep-rooted in the hearts of the people. To forswear oneself by the sacred tomb is thought sure to bring disaster and death on the offender. Many persons state that they have received blows from invisible fists, supposed to proceed from an enraged *Nefy*. The influence of a powerful *sheikh* is thought to extend ten or twenty miles round his *Mūkām*.

The *Mukāms* may be divided into seven categories, though the distinction is not observed by the natives, and saints or *Welys* are now living who will at death be honoured with *Mūkāms*. The separate species are as follow:—1st. Biblical characters. These are, no doubt, generally the oldest, and can often be traced back to Jewish tradition. 2nd. Christian sites venerated by the Moslem peasantry, and not always distinguishable from the first class, but often traceable to the teaching of the monasteries or to monkish sites. 3rd. Native heroes or deities not to be identified as belonging to either of the other class, and perhaps sometimes the most ancient sites of all. 4th. Later and known historic characters. 5th. Saints named from the place where they occur, or having appellations connected with traditions concerning them. 6th. Sacred sites not connected with personal names. Some of these are of the greatest value. 7th. Ordinary Moslem names which may be of any date and are often modern. These classes will be con-

* The Jews do perform sacrifices of small objects at Joseph's tomb and that of Bar Jochai the Cabalist.

sidered in order, and the deductions which naturally may be drawn will prove to be—1st. That however modern the building, the site is often of great antiquity. 2nd. That in the mixture of so many separate classes of sacred sites we find proof of the mixed character of the peasant population, and the influence of successive races and religions on the original stock.

II.

Biblical Characters.—The patriarchs, from Adam downwards, and Scripture characters, including Our Lord himself, being venerated by the Moslems as by Christians, it is not always easy to make certain whether a tradition concerning them is of native or of imported Christian origin. Many Scripture stories are, indeed, found more or less garbled among the peasantry; but these, by internal evidence, can often be shown to come from monkish teaching, and very often are modern and due to the inhabitants of neighbouring convents. Many examples of this corruption of true tradition might be adduced to prove the point. Thus, for instance, the Druse inhabitants of Mount Carmel visit and revere the grotto of Elijah which is now in the centre of the chapel of the convent, and the ceremony of devoting a child to the prophet I have myself witnessed in this church.

If, however, the tradition be traceable to Jewish origin, it is, of course, of greater value; and instances of this kind are not wanting, as in the case of the sacred rock in the temple of Jerusalem, to which traditions now attach which reproduce exactly those to be found in the Mishnah concerning the *Eben Shattiyeh*, or foundation of the Holy of Holies.

It is among the *Nebys* principally that the Scripture worthies are to be recognised, and of these shrines no less than fifty have been found as yet, including most of the patriarchs and greater prophets.

Adam and Eve are traditionally supposed to have been buried at Mecca, and have no *Mūkams* in Palestine. On expulsion from Paradise, however, they are supposed to have hidden themselves in or near a spring at Hebron, which is now called *Ain el Judeideh*, or the “excavated fountain,” being cut in rock with an arch above. Here also the red earth, from which Adam was said by the Jews to have been formed, is shown by the Moslems.*

Cain and Abel also are not, properly speaking, represented in Palestine. The tomb of Abel is shown at Abila above Damascus, and is thought by modern explorers to be only a huge reservoir. A curious tradition of the wanderings of Cain with the body of Abel bound to his back here exists. Cain, however, appears among the prophets as *Neby Yūkân*, but this is evidently a case of the saint being named from the

* The tradition is mentioned by several writers in the time of the Crusades, and may be of Christian origin.

place, as the ruin of *Yûkân* has been identified with the town of Cain. (Josh. xv.)*

Nimrod again, though having no sacred place, is an important character in the native mythology. He is supposed to be the author of many ancient forts, notably the *Kûsr Nimrâd* below Hermon at *Kal'at el Jindl*, where no dew ever falls, according to the natives, because his body lies buried there. Another tradition concerning him attaches to *Khûrbet Mird* (Mons Mardes) in the Desert of Judah, as mentioned by M. Ganneau.

Noah, again, is a favourite divinity, and has several sanctuaries; one at the ancient Adoraim (*Dâra*) in the south of Judah, and another at *Khûrbet Nûh* farther west, where there is a tradition of Noah's daughter and of a spring whence the flood originated. Of his sons, Ham alone has a *Mûkâm* in the Gaza district, and farther north we find at Besh-shit (the House of Seth) the tomb of *Neby Shît*, who has also another sanctuary—*Haram en Neby Shît*, in Samaria, and another in Lebanon.

First of all the Bible heroes, however, Abraham, "the friend," stands out in the estimation of the native peasantry, and his tomb, in the sanctuary of Hebron, is now the most sacred spot in Palestine. The monuments of the patriarchs are mentioned by Josephus and by all subsequent travellers, and the tradition is thus, no doubt, older than Christian times. With Abraham lie the bodies of Isaac, Jacob, and the three wives—Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah.

Isaac enjoys a peculiar reputation as being the most easily offended of all, and the Moslems are more afraid of his wrath than of that of any other prophet or chief. There is another *Mûkâm* of Isaac (*Neby Is-hâk*) in Galilee, the origin of which is not known, but as the name is of common occurrence among the Jews it may possibly represent the tomb of a later historic character, for, as we shall see clearly in proceeding, historical names are often wrongly applied in the confused mythology of the peasantry.

Jacob also has a second *Mûkâm*, the mosque of the *Hizn Y'akâb*, or "mourning of Jacob," connected with the tradition that here (at Shechem) he mourned the loss of his son Joseph. It may perhaps represent a tradition of Samaritan origin.

At Hebron also the tomb of Joseph is shown outside the Haram wall, but this tradition of the transportation of his bones from Shechem to Hebron is apparently of later origin, and Jews, Samaritans, and Moslems unite in venerating the *Kabr Yûsef*, or "tomb of Joseph," outside Nablûs, a tradition of great antiquity, and traceable, through Josephus, to Jewish origin. By Christian and Jewish writers alike, from the fourth century downwards, this tradition is handed on unchanged.

Hebron contains other sanctuaries of less note, the tombs of Esau, Abner, and Jesse being shown by the Moslems in and around the town.

* The Crusaders considered *Krimân* (ancient Camon) to mean "Mount Cain," and showed at this site the place where Lamech killed Cain with an arrow.

Alone and separated from the family sepulchre, the little "dome of Rachel" stands between Jerusalem and Bethlechem. The *Kubbeh* itself is modern, and has been repaired of late years. In 700 A.D. Arculphus saw only a pyramid, which was also visited by Benjamin of Tudela in 1160 A.D., and perhaps by Sanuto in 1322 A.D. The site has been disputed on account of the expression (1 Sam. x. 2) "in the border of Benjamin," and there can be no doubt that the *Kübl'et Rukhîl* never was on or very near this border. The Vulgate translation, however, seems perhaps to do away with this difficulty, and as Rachel's tomb was only "a little way" from Ephrath, "which is Bethlechem" (Gen. xxxv. 16-19), and the tradition is of great antiquity, there is no very good reason for rejecting it.

Farther up the country, near Sharon, is another sacred place dedicated to *Sheikh 'Obeid Rukhîl*, or "Rachel's servant."

Next in order come the children of Jacob. At Shechem, outside the town wall, is the *Mükâm Oulad Y'akûb el 'Asherah*, "the ten sons of Jacob," a tradition dating no doubt after the division between Judah and Israel.* In Galilee is the sanctuary of the *Benât Y'akûb*, or "daughters of Jacob," and a bridge over Jordan also bears their names.

Of the twelve patriarchs, we find the *Mükâms* of seven, not including the northern tribes, in the part as yet unsurveyed. Joseph has two sanctuaries as above noted. Benjamin may perhaps be represented by *Neby Yemîn*, whose *Mükâm* is towards the centre of Samaria. Reuben (*Neby Rûbîn*) lies near the shore south of Jaffa, Simeon (*Neby Shen'on*) in the plain of Sharon. Levi is possibly *Neby Lawîn*. Judah has a *Mükâm* (*Neby Hûlah*) in the Sharon plain, near which, in the territory of Dan, is the *Mükâm en Neby Dîn*. Issachar, Zebulon, Asher, Naphtali, Gad, Manasseh, and Ephraim,† we have not as yet found in the number of the sanctuaries.

Proceeding to the period of the Conquest, we find south-west of Jericho the reputed tomb of Moses, much revered by the Moslems. But this tradition appears to be of Christian origin, and will be subsequently noticed. The tombs of Eleazar and Phineas are, however, more probably authentic, and have been already described in my paper on Samaritan Topography. Aaron was buried on Mount Hôr, where his tomb is now shown. Joshua requires a more particular notice.

The foregoing characters are all known by the peasantry in their proper relations. No special legends seem attached to the tombs, but if one inquires who *Neby Hûlah* was, the answer of an intelligent native will be, "The son of our Lord Jacob." There is one curious instance of confusion, however: *Neby Y'arûd Ibn Y'akûb*, who probably represents Jared, the ancestor, not the son of Jacob (Gen. v. 15). When, however, we seek for the memory of Joshua we find the name to have entirely disappeared. At Jericho he is confused with the *Imâm 'Aliy Ibn*

* This tradition is noticed by Josephus.

† The *Mükâms* of Ephraim and Gad and Manasseh might be expected east of Jordan.

Abu Tâleb, brother-in-law of the prophet, in a tradition which seems most probably of Christian origin, being located to a sacred spot standing apparently on the site of the mediæval Chapel of the Apparition of St. Michael to Joshua; but Joshua also seems to appear under the name of *Neby Kifil*, "the apportioner," whose *Mūkâm* is shown in *Kefr Hâris*, where mediæval Jewish tradition fixes the site of Timnath Heres. *Neby Kifil* has two other sanctuaries in the centre of the country. At *Tibneh*, which is now generally held to be the true Timnath Heres, there is a large oak called *Sheikh et Teim*, "the chief the servant of God," and in this perhaps some memory of Joshua is still retained, but it is remarkable that the name of so great a hero should so completely have disappeared from the native mythology.

Proceeding to the later period of the prophets, kings, and judges succeeding the Conquest, the mythology becomes more confused. Barak may perhaps be recognised in *Sheikh Ibrik*, a *Mūkâm* standing over the Kishon, in which the host of Sisera was engulfed; but Gideon is forgotten, unless he be recognised as *Neby Dûhy*, "the general," whose sanctuary stands above the site of Gideon's battle on the summit of what is supposed by many to be the "Hill of Moreh."

Samson, however, plays a more conspicuous part. The tomb of *Sheikh Samat* I discovered, and described in October, 1873, at Sûr'ah (Zoreah). It is mentioned in 1331 apparently in the same position by Rabbi Isaac Chelo, so that the tradition is apparently not of Christian origin. M. Ganneau has given the legends which are connected with Shamshûn el Jebbâr ("the hero"), the brother of Sheikh Samat, which are, however, of doubtful origin. At Gaza, Samson has also two *Mūkâms*, that of 'Aly *Müntâr*, on the hill south of the town, traditionally that to which the gates of Gaza were carried, where an annual festival takes place,* and that of 'Aly *Mirwân* ("Aly the enslaved"), now supposed to be the tomb of Samson. The origin of these legends is as yet undiscovered. It is remarkable that on the hills east of Gaza is another chapel dedicated to 'Aly (at *Darweineh*), near which is a ruined convent called *Deir Samat*, which raises a suspicion that Christian teaching as to Samson has been confused by the peasantry as referring to 'Aly, the famous Imâm, who has many sanctuaries all over the country.

Samuel, the next hero, has but one sanctuary, *Neby Samwîl*, but this tradition seems of Christian origin, and is not recognised as genuine by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who accuses the Christians of pretending to have transported the body from Ramleh, which he considers to have been Ramathaim Zophim. If the latter place is to be identified with *Sûffa*, then perhaps the real tomb of Samuel may be represented by the sanctuary of *Shehâb-el-Dîn*, "the hero of the faith." There was, however, as will be seen later, a historic character of this name.

The tombs of David and Solomon at Jerusalem are sanctuaries of no mean order, and the praying-places of Abraham, David, and Solomon are shown in the cave of the *Sakhrâh*, but the origin here again is

* This tradition dates from the middle ages.

doubtful, and cannot easily be traced to indigenous tradition.* There are many sanctuaries of *Sheikh Dâūd* in the country, but whether connected with the king it is impossible to determine. There is also a curious tradition of the *Bint Sultân el Fenish*, "the daughter of the Phœnician Sultan," not far from *Tell Jezer*, which may perhaps be attached to Solomon's wife, whose dowry was Gezer.

We have finally to deal with the names of the later prophets, of whom the most famous is Elijah. In the native mythology he is called *el Khidr*; but as the same title is also applied to St. George, it is impossible to distinguish the two in many cases. There is, however, in Samaria a *Mukâm* dedicated to *Neby Elyâs*, in which we recognise the name of the prophet unchanged.

† Daniel (*Neby Dâniân*) has five sanctuaries, and is perhaps to be recognised also as *Nebu Kunda*, "the Chaldean," whose sanctuary exists near *Yebna*.

Ezekiel also is represented in *Neby Hazkân*, on a high hill over the Jordan valley, and perhaps Isaiah in *Neby S'ain* above Nazareth, a name which is of otherwise unknown origin.

Jonah has no fewer than four *Mukâms*: that at *el Mesh-hed* (Gath Hopher), where his tomb was shown at an early period, the tradition being apparently of Jewish and not of Christian origin; secondly, *Neby Yûnis*, south of Jaffa, on the coast, representing probably a tradition of the spot where he was left by the whale; thirdly, *Neby Yûnis*, at Halhûl, which seems at one time to have been considered to be the tomb of the prophet Gad; fourthly, the tomb near Sarepta, a tradition which dates from the middle ages, and appears to be of Christian origin.

Of smaller prophets Haggai is perhaps *Neby Hâj*, near Gaza; Zechariah, *Neby Zekariya*,† near el Medych; and Baruch possibly *Neby Bürk*, at *Burka*, though this may be a case where the tradition originates from the name of the town.

One important name remains still to be collected—the *Mukâm* of Nahum the Elkoshite. It was shown to Isaac Chelo in 1334, on the road from Tiberias to Kefr 'Anan, and may prove to be the *Kubbeh* in *Abu Shusheh*, situate above the *'Ain el Madawerah*, which Dr. Tristram identifies with the Fountain of Capharnaum. Could this be settled, we should have entirely new materials for settling the position of Capernaum, which is still so much disputed, for the tradition in this case is of Jewish and probably indigenous, and not of Christian or foreign origin.

It may be thought that the above is a mere list of names to which traditions should have been attached. The natives, however, as a rule,

* Professor Palmer informs us that the tradition of the site of David's tomb is of purely Moslem origin, and dates back only to 1447 A.D. (Jerusalem, Besant and Palmer, p. 436. See also the account of the discovery of the tomb given by Benjamin of Tudela.)

† This, however, is also perhaps Christian in origin, as the site is noticed by Marino Sanuto as being the birthplace of John the Baptist.

are either ignorant, or affect ignorance of the history of the saints. This is no doubt partly due to suspicion and fear of consequences in telling sacred names to infidels; but it seems to me certain that in many cases the ignorance is real, and that the name has long survived any memory of the circumstance which first consecrated the sacred station.

III.

Christian Sites.—The sites treated of as yet are, as far as can be judged, mostly of pure native origin, and often traceable to Jewish and therefore indigenous sources. Nothing is more important in studying Palestine than to draw a broad line of distinction between all that is of native origin on the one hand, and foreign traditions principally Christian on the other.

The second class of *Mūkāms* includes those sites which, though now venerated by the peasantry, are undoubtedly of Christian origin. A few examples will show clearly that such sites exist undistinguished from those belonging to a more reliable tradition. Thus on the hill east of Hebron, near *Beni Na'im*, stands the Minaret and Sanctuary of *Neby Lūt*, and a tradition existed in the fourth century that it was from this point that Lot and Abraham surveyed the Promised Land. From this origin doubtless the modern site has arisen. Again, in the Jordan valley we are surprised to find the reputed tomb of Moses (*Neby Mūsa*) near Jericho. Many traditions connected with the prophet exist; a valley, a pool, and an aqueduct are called by his name. Yet there is evidence which points to the Christian origin of all this mythology, for in the Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr we find the "*thermæ Moysi*" mentioned in connection apparently with *Wady Kelt*, and the Quarantania mountain, near Jericho, in which we may probably recognise the present *Birket Mūsa*.

There are also two *Mūkāms* sacred to our Lord, one in a village near Hebron, where a church once existed, the other at *Na'in*, connected with the site of the raising of the widow's son, and no doubt standing on the site of a mediæval chapel. In the centre of the country also there is a *Mūkām* of *Sitti Miriam*, the Virgin Mary, whose memory is kept alive at Jerusalem in the *Birket Sitti Miriam*, which is not, however, a sacred place.

Several of the apostles also have *Mūkāms*, notably *Neby Metta*, the "prophet Matthew," whose sanctuary, in the village of *Beit Unner*, is no doubt the St. Matthew mentioned by Willibald of Oldenburg, 724 A.D., as between the Fountain of the Eunuch (*'Ain Dhirweh*) and St. Zacharias (*Beit Iskaria*), south of Jerusalem, or in the very position of the village above mentioned.

St. John has a very curious *Mūkām*, called *Neby Yahyah*, in the plain of Sharon, which, though it is now a Moslem sanctuary with Cenotaph and *Mihrab*, is yet sometimes called *Mār Hannah*, "St. John," as well as *Neby Yahyah*, the native name of the Baptist.

St. Paul again is recognisable in *Neby Bulus*, whose sanctuary lies near *Sūr'ah*, in the Shephelah, and a little farther south we find at Beit Jibrin the *Mūkām en Neby Jibrin*. The town was called Gibelin by the Crusaders; but William of Tyre translates the original name to mean "House of Gabriel;" and two churches, one to St. John (*Sandahannah*) and one to St. Gabriel, seem to have existed here. The last is almost entirely destroyed, but *Neby Jibrin* is worshipped on a plot of open ground just south of one of the aisles, in a part which probably was once in the middle of the church of St. Gabriel.

St. George, *el Khūdr*, was considered by the Saracens to be the patron of the Crusaders, and his sanctuaries, though now Moslem, seem to be almost always on the site of chapels or churches. Thus at Deir Belāh (the Fort of Darum of the Crusaders), the *Mūkām* of *el Khūdr* is full of fragments of Christian work, and the second name of the village is *Deir Mār Jirius*, monastery of St. George. At Ascalon and at Blanchegarde the same saint is worshipped, and the name attaches to many Christian ruins, and to one Christian village. Wherever, in fact, *el Khūdr* appears, we may suspect Christian origin to attach to the ruins.

St. Anne (*Sitti Hannîyeh*) has also a Moslem sanctuary, but the most curious confusion is in the large Kubbah, on the edge of the Sharon plain, now called *Sheikh Sandahāwi*, in which we recognise at once an original St. Eve or St. Eva, now changed in sex as in creed, to become a Moslem chief.

The adoption of so many Christian worthies appears to me to show that at some time, probably the peaceful era of the fifth century preceding the invasion by Omar, the peasantry were considerably under the influence of the monastic establishments which then covered the whole country, and of which an almost affectionate memory seems retained in such titles as "the charitable convent," &c.

It is to this period that the class of legends which treat of Scripture history may be referred with great probability; with the invasion the names were changed, and hence to the companions of the Prophet we find the deeds of Joshua and Samson now ascribed. In some cases Scripture traditions may be of even later origin, and due to direct monastic teaching at the present time.

IV.

Native Traditions.—There is a third class of sacred characters which I have not succeeded in identifying with certainty, but which are occasionally of great interest, and which form a large proportion of the whole number.

Thus, for instance, *Hāj 'Aleiyān* is a much-respected saint, whose history I have told in a former report (*Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1874, p. 23), and several prophets may be enumerated. *Neby Sāleh*, "the good prophet," has four *Mūkāms*, one of which is shown as the place of his martyrdom. The red streaks in the limestone are supposed to be

due to his blood; and the cave in which his son hid is also shown near the place. Who was Neby Sâleh? is a question still to be answered. *Neby Belân* and *Neby Baliân* belong to this class. *Neby Heiyis* (possibly Ahijah), *Neby Mâmin*, *Neby 'Anîn* (or Ananiah), *Neby N'amân* (Naaman), *Neby Kâmil* ("perfect prophet"), and *Neby Nûrân*.

Two others have a curious bearing on Scripture—viz., *Neby Turfîni*, which may be rendered "the Tarpelite," one of the races which were brought by Asnapper (Ezra iv. 9, 10) to colonise Samaria, and secondly, *Neby Leimân*, near Jerusalem, whose name recalls that of the unknown King Lemuel (Prov. xxi. 4). Equally obscure are *Neby Kundah* (the Chaldean), *Neby Târi* (the Stranger), and *Neby Serâkah*, perhaps named after *Surîk*, "the valley of Sorek."

Amongst the Sheikhs also curious names occasionally occur, as *Ahya* (Ahijah), 'Awed (Uz), *Iskander* (who appears to be Alexander the Great). In the Jordan valley, not far from the sites which I suggested as representing the Rock Oreb and "hole" of Zeeb, we have *Sheikh edh Dhiâb*, "chief of the wolves," or possibly a tradition of Zeeb. At Beit Jibrin is *Sheikh Sh'aîb*, the native name of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses. At Adullam is *Sheikh Madhkûr*, "the famous chieftain," perhaps David himself.

Then there are *Sheikh Nedhîr*, "the Nazarite," *Sheikh Kanwâsh*, "the Æthiopian," and *Sheikh Kâmir*, a name apparently of Syriac origin, meaning "priest," and found applied (2 Kings xxiii. 5) to the idolatrous priests "put down" by Josiah.

There are also female Saints among the native divinities, and it is instructive to find couples in which a sister or mother is revered with the Sheikh, or in a neighbouring sanctuary. Thus, close to *Sheikh Abu Leimân*, we have the *Umm esh Sheikh*, "mother of the chief," who was the daughter of *Ahmed ed Dujâni* (the man of Beth Dagon). At Yebnah *Sheikh Waheb*, "the devoted," has a sister, *Sheikhah S'adeh*, "the fortunate." And many other instances occur of this purely pagan mythology. With these we may class the many "ladies"—*Sitt el Kâneh*, and *Sitt Nefisah*, apparently representatives of Lucina; *Sitt Eslamîyeh*, who gives her name to Mount Ebal; *Sitt Nekiyyeh*, "the pure lady," and *Sitt Men'a*, "the recluse." From these titles we gain no small insight into the native religion, and the fifth category still further enlightens us; but before proceeding to it it is necessary to separate out the sacred characters of later historical times.

V.

Historical Characters.—The early companions of the Prophet have gradually become mythical characters of importance. Not only is this the case with the Nuseiriyeh, Druses, and other heretical sects, but in Palestine they have developed into saints of the first order, and have grouped round themselves the history, tradition, and mythology of other races and creeds. We have seen that the *Imam 'Aly Ibn Abu*

T'aleb, son-in-law to the prophet husband of Fatimah, and "lion of God," with *Bellâl Ibn Rubâh*, the Muezzin of the Prophet, have been converted at Jericho into Joshua and his servant. 'Aly also, on the other side of the country, represents Samson, and he has many other sanctuaries in the centre and north of Palestine.

At Hebron we have 'Aly *Bukka*, who died in 670; and west of this *Sheikh es Schab*, "the companion" (of the Prophet). There are also some half-dozen sanctuaries dedicated to the *Arb'ain Ghazâwy*, "the forty champions," companions of the Prophet, the most important being the White Mosque at Ramleh, where their memory has been confused with the Forty Martyrs of Cappadocia.* We have also two *Mûkâms* of *Sheikh Khalîf*, "the Caliph," or "Successor," of the Prophet, and thus we gradually descend to more modern times.

South of Jerusalem is the *Deir Abu Tôr*, where is the monument of *Abu Tor*, or *Sheikh Ahmed et Tori*, "the father of the bull." This worthy, whose name was *Sheikh Shehâb ul Dîn el Kûdesy*, "the sacred hero of the faith," was a follower of Saladin, who in 1187 gave him the monastery of St. Mark, now called *Deir Abu Tor*.† Professor Palmer tells us that he derived his name from riding on a tame bull. At St. Mark's he lived, died, and was buried, and has now become a saint.

Then, near the great plain, we have on a high hill *Sheikh Shibleh*, who was a powerful Emir about 1700 A.D. Though now a saint, he was, when alive, no better than a common robber. Maundrell, the traveller, had the satisfaction of seeing him in the flesh, and was "courteously relieved" by him of his great-coat as baksheesh.

At 'Arsûf (the Crusading Arsur) is the *Haram 'Aly Ibn Aleim*, who lived in the time of Sultan Bibars, 1270 A.D., and defended the town against that monarch. His mosque is said to have been built by Bibars himself.

South of Jerusalem is a real "Mosque of Omar," *Jami'a 'Amr Ibn Khüttâh*, close to the village of *Beit T'âmîr*, dating perhaps from 636 A.D. West of Jerusalem is *Sheikh Abu Ghôsh*, a bandit whilst in the flesh, about 1813 A.D., now a respected saint. It is curious to find in Galilee Jewish rabbis in the same category, as, for instance, at 'Arrâbeh, where is the *Kabr Y'akûb es Seddîk*, "tomb of Jacob (or James) the Just," probably representing that of Rabbi Chanina, shown here as far back as 1564, the Rabbi himself (if Chanina ben Dosa) having lived about 70 A.D.

* *Sidna Hâshem*, the prophet's father, is buried at Gaza.

† *Abu Tor* might be thought to be St. Mark himself, whose emblem is the bull. The place is also called *Deir el Kadîs Modestûs*, "Monastery of St. Modestus," probably the monk who restored the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, about 620 A.D.

VI.

Appellations.—The fifth category includes no less than eighty names, nearly a third of the whole, the saints being principally of the second order, *Sheikhs*, or “chiefs,” known by titles either showing their origin or their attributes. The peasantry appear to believe that the saint sometimes gave his name to the town where his *Mukām* exists; but there is often historic evidence to prove that the process has really been the reverse, and the saint has been created from the town. Thus at *Yānūn* we have *Neby Nūn* (apparently the father of Joshua), but the name of the town is probably a corruption of the ancient Janoah. *Neby Tōba*, again (perhaps Tobiah), has his sanctuary at *Tūbās*, the ancient Thebez. *Neby Yūkin* derives his name from the town called Cain, and *Neby Hūshūn*, at *Hūsheh*, from the place which is apparently Osheh, the seat of the Sanhedrim.

Another curious case is that of *Sheikh Selmān el Farsi*, companion of the prophet, whose sanctuary stands on Mount Salmon, whence it probably derived its name originally. At *Tell Jezer*, again, we have *Muhammed el Jezāri* (the Moor), who seems to derive his name from Gezer. *Neby Būrk* is found in *Burka*, *Sheikh er Rāfātī* at *Rafat*, *Sheikh el Hubānī* at *Hubin*, *Sheikh Archāb* at the ancient Rehob, and *Sheikh Mukhuah* in the plain of the same name, the word meaning “camping-ground.”

The second class of appellations is of more value, and examples taken at random will serve to show clearly the attributes and characters of these revered saints. Thus we find in Philistia “the father of the lion,” and “the father of curls” (names, perhaps, for Samson), also “father of the crescent,” “of the mail coat,” “of the olive,” “of the carob,” “servant of the almighty,” and “servant of the prophet.” “The Stranger,” “the Median,” “the man of Aleppo,” “the rain-giver,” “the idiot,” “the madman,” “the goodly,” “the pleasant,” “the shining,” “the healer,” “the place of sickness,” “the high place,” “the place of prayer,” “the place of steps,” “the dwarf,” “the sun of the faith,” “the honour of the faith,” “the trustee,” “the pilgrim,” “the soldier,” “the full moon,” “the propitiations,” “the place of protection,” “the place of flight,” “the conqueror,” “the champion,” “the inspired,” “the just,” “the fortunate,” “the wise,” “the snow-white,” “the beautiful.”

In this category of adjectives we see the character of the mythology. The personal names in these cases are often common Moslem names, but in some cases the title very probably conceals an important name. The peasantry shrink from pronouncing the true name, especially before Christians, and prefer a circumlocution, just as the English and Scotch peasantry might speak of “the good people” and the “canny folk.” The titles are, however, of no small value. They show that the mythology is extremely mixed, and that many strangers are admitted into the pantheon. They show also that the *Sheikh* is the protector of

property, the giver of rain, the healer of sickness; that the olive, the carob, the oak, are sacred to him; that warriors, madmen, idiots, pilgrims, are alike canonised after death, and that prayer is offered and assistance begged in all the calamities of life from the *genius loci* of each village or town.

VII.

Sacred Sites.—A few *Mūkāms* not to be classed under either of the foregoing titles appear to refer to traditions now forgotten. Thus we have the *Hizn Y'akūb*, "mourning of Jacob," the *Jamī'a el 'Amūd* (Pillar of Shechem), and the *'Amād el Dīn*, marking, as I have proposed to identify it, the monument erected on Ebal by Joshua. At Shiloh, also, there is the *Jamī'a el Yetaim*, "mosque of the servants of God," retaining probably a memory of the tabernacle. Such sites are, however, few, and the traditional connection appears to be lost.

VIII.

Last of all come the common Moslem names applied to some fifty less-important *Mūkāms*; Abdallah, Omar, Ali, Abraham, Kasim Mohammed, Hasan, Moses, Othman, Joseph, Masud, David, and Solomon are among these.

In some cases it is possible these names may be falsely given, in others they are distinguished by adjectives, "the long," "the tall," &c., and appear certainly genuine. In one or two instances the peasantry differ as to the name, but this is never the case where a Neby is concerned.

Such is a brief review of the worship and origin of the *Mūkāms*. The subject is well worth further study by competent Arabic scholars. Traditions may probably remain to be collected, and other names may be added; but the greatest caution is necessary, and the subject could scarcely have been further pursued during the course of the Survey without raising the fanatical suspicions of the peasantry, from whose zeal and superstition the Survey party has always been in continual danger.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, LT. R.E.

Feb. 17, 1877.

LIST OF THE NEBY MUKAMS.

1.	Mūkām on Neby	'Aisa	Jesus.
2.	"	"	'Anīn
3.	"	"	Baliān
4.	"	"	Belān
5.	"	"	Būlus
6.	"	"	Būrķ
7.	"	"	Dāniān
8.	"	"	Dāūd
			Paul.
			"Blessed."
			Daniel.
			David.

9.	Mũkâm on Neby	Dân	Dan
10.	„	Dũhy	“ Leader.”
11.	„	Elyas	Elias.
12.	„	Hâm	Ham.
13.	„	Heiyis	
14.	„	Hûdah	Judah.
15.	„	Hûj	Haggai?
16.	„	Hûshân	Oshanite.
17.	„	Is-hâk	Isaac.
18.	„	Jibrîn	Gabriel.
19.	„	Kâmil	“ Perfect.”
20.	„	Kifl	Joshua, “ divider.”
21.	„	Kunda	Chaldean.
22.	„	Lâwîn	
23.	„	Leimûn	Lemuel?
24.	„	Lût	Lot.
25.	„	Mâmîn	
26.	„	Metta	Matthew.
27.	„	Mûsa	Moses.
28.	„	N'âmân	Naaman.
29.	„	Nûh	Noah.
30.	„	Nûn	Nun.
31.	„	Nûrân	
32.	„	Râbi	
33.	„	Rûbîn	Reuben.
34.	„	S'ain	
35.	„	Sâleh	“ Good.”
36.	„	Samwîl	Samuel.
37.	„	Serâkah	Sirach?
38.	„	Shem'ôn	Simeon.
39.	„	Shît	Seth.
40.	„	Târi	“ Stranger.”
41.	„	Toba	
42.	„	Turfini	
43.	„	Yahyah	St. John.
44.	„	Y'arûd Ibn Y'akûb	
45.	„	Yemîn	Benjamin?
46.	„	Yukîn	Cain.
47.	„	Yunis	Jonah.
48.	„	Zakariya	Zechariah.

GIBEAH OF SAUL.

THE site in question is one important to fix, as a good deal of topography depends upon it. Thus, though no new discovery can be claimed in this case, I may perhaps be allowed to state the arguments which appear to me sufficient to determine the situation of this town.

In the first place I would again insist on the importance in all such cases of having the name identical. No site can be considered as identified unless two conditions are fulfilled: 1st, that the name be recovered; 2nd, that the position be suitable. It will, I think, be found that in almost every instance where a site has been fixed without connection between the native existing name and the ancient title, the site has proved, sooner or later, unsatisfactory. I may point to Megiddo placed at *Lejjûn*, to Mizpeh at *Neby Samwîl*, to Tirzah at *Talluza*, as instances in which the sites can only be considered conjectural, and against which there are important objections. The same applies to Gibeah of Saul placed at *Tell el Fûl*. Gibeah was about 30 stadia from Jerusalem according to Josephus. *Tell el Fûl* is little over 22 stadia. If it represent an ancient Hebrew name it is a former Ophel that has become transformed into the modern Arabic "bean hill," and it is more probably the site of Ophni of Benjamin, as far as the derivation of the name is concerned.

Robinson, in visiting Palestine for the first time, was inclined to place Gibeah of Saul near Geba of Benjamin (the present *Jeb'a*), a conclusion which he afterwards rejected, choosing the site of *Tell el Fûl*.

The word Gibeah is the feminine, according to Gesenius, of Geba, "a hill," but a further difficulty has been raised in this case by the fact that the authorised version has occasionally Gibeah where the Hebrew reads Geba. In the list of the towns of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 24, 28) we have two names—Gaba, which is generally supposed to be *Jeb'a* near *Mulchmâs*, and Gibeah, which is noticed as near Kirjath (*Kuriet*). This second town is, however, probably *Jibi'a*, a ruin north-west of Jerusalem near *Kubeibeh*, and a place distinct from Gibeah of Saul, for it occurs in a different category among towns far from the site in question. If this conclusion be correct, Gibeah of Saul is not noticed in the enumeration of the cities of Benjamin, unless indeed it be identical with Gaba.

Another connection between Geba, or Gaba, and Gibeah exists in the history of the Levite whose wrongs brought punishment on the Benjamites. Travelling along the north road from Jerusalem towards Mount Ephraim, he "turns aside" towards *Gibeah* and Ramah (Judg. xix. 13), arriving at Gibeah, whose inhabitants were Benjamites.

In this chapter, and the one succeeding, the place is invariably called Gibeah except in two verses (Judg. xx. 10, 33), where it appears in the Hebrew as Geba of Benjamin, and again "the cave of Geba" (A. V., "Meadows").

A third connection between Gibeah and Geba has been noticed in the paper on Saul's journey to Zuph, where he returns to Gabatha, "the hill," where was a garrison of the Philistines. Such a garrison we find to exist in Geba of Benjamin shortly after (1 Sam. xiii. 3).

Thus we find, apparently, places close together, or identical, known under the names of Geba, Gaba, Gabatha, Gibeah of Benjamin, and Gibeah of Saul. The natural conclusion would be that they are one and the same place. It seems probable, however, that the feminine form Gibeah was used *for the country* in which the city Geba stood. This idea will be found to be supported by the passages in the book of Judges above referred to, and also by the various notices of Gibeahs near Geba. Thus we have "Gibeah in the fields" (*Gabathah bi Sadeh*), Judg. xx. 31, and in the later history of Saul we find the king "in the uttermost part of Gibeah under a pomegranate tree which is in Migron" (1 Sam. xiv. 2). And, again, "Saul abode in Gibeah under a tree in Ramah" (1 Sam. xxii. 6). It may also be remarked that many of the Hebrew words signifying "land" or "country" are of the feminine gender.

But beyond the evidence of name it would appear from the facts of the case that there was only one town of the name in this direction. The Levite *turns aside* to Gibeah of Benjamin, an expression which certainly applies well to *Jeb'a* but not to *Tell el Fûl* on the main road. The town where he was insulted was, as we have seen above, Geba of Benjamin, the same town afterwards taken by Jonathan, and here, at the passage, was the rock of *Senneh*, which is translated "thorn."

Now in speaking of Gabaoth Saule (B. J. v. 2. 1) Josephus places it near the *Valley of Thorns*, and at the present day the valley below *Jeb'a* is called *Wâdy Suweinât*, "the valley of the little thorn tree." Josephus is not absolute as to the distance of this place from Jerusalem, but states it at "about 30 stadia"—the distance being nearer to 40 to *Jeb'a*—but this fits the text as well as the 22 stadia to *Tell el Fûl*.

In addition, it may be urged that the watchmen of Saul, in Gibeah of Benjamin, were able to see the conflict which was going on at Michmash, and to hear the sound of the battle. *Tell el Fûl*, though *Jeb'a* be visible, does not command a view of Michmash, and the distance is no less than five miles between the scene of the battle and Saul's supposed position. Finally, in Gibeah of Benjamin there was a cave large enough to contain the ambush (Judg. xx. 33). No cave exists near *Tell el Fûl*, but a large cave exists at *Jeb'a*.

The conclusion appears to me to be that Saul's city was Geba of Benjamin, and that the district round was called first Gibeah of Benjamin, afterwards Gibeah of Saul.

If we accept this view, the question of the position of Nob is greatly simplified, and the position of Gabatha, to which Saul returned after his journey to Zuph, is also confirmed.

C. R. C.

JUDÆO-GREEK EPITAPH FROM JAFFA.

THE little inscription of which you send me a sketch is very much like those of which I found a great number of specimens in the ancient cemetery of Jaffa. In my earliest reports (*Quarterly Statement*, 1874) I determined the site of this cemetery, and called attention to the importance of fuller examination on a spot so interesting to Hebrew archæology.

This new text is engraved on marble. I may add, without fear of being wrong, guided as I am by analogy, that it must be, probably, a very thin slab—that is, a *titulus*. The symbol below the fourth line is the seven-branched candlestick of the Temple. I have already found it on similar epitaphs of Jaffa, notably on one very much mutilated, on which only the ends of the words could be made out.

The new inscription is somewhat difficult to decipher from the pencil sketch, you ought to obtain a squeeze. It begins with the word ΛΑΖΑΡΟΥ, genitive of Lazarus; the word *μνήμα*, expressed in some of the Jaffa stones, is understood here. Then comes the word ΚΑΙ, followed by a proper name also in the genitive, but difficult to restore on account of the doubtful characters in the middle of the line. Perhaps it is CHAA for CIAA, genitive of CIAAC, a name common among the Judæo-Greeks; for example, a friend of Agrippa (Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 6. 7; xix. 8. 3); a Babylonian (Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 19. 2; iii. 2. 1); a tyrant of Lysias (Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 3. 2); a governor of Tiberias (Joseph. Lip. xvii.); a companion of St. Paul, chief of the church of Jerusalem (Acts of Apostles, xv. 22), &c. We see also the name of Silas borne by an Egyptian priest (Zoeg. Cat. Codd. 546. 2); many Jews, whose epitaphs I found at Jaffa, were of Egyptian origin, as is stated in the inscriptions.

The inscription ends by the name, also in the genitive, of Simon, written CYMONC for CIMONO, an interesting form which occupies a middle place between Συμεώνος, Symeon, and Σίμωνος, Simon. It is probable that we must read immediately before the name ΚΑΙ, instead of ΚΑ, the I having crept in accidentally. As for the letters which follow as far as the CHAA, they are too indistinct to permit a restoration. We may have to add them to CHAA in order to form a proper name, and we may look for the name ΤΙΩΝ among them. The frequent inaccuracies in these little texts make it imperative in every case to have a careful squeeze.

C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.
